

and with a deep seated spirit of revenge rankling in her bosom, she swore eternal vengeance upon the entire savage race."<sup>88</sup> "... she armed herself with a rifle, bullet-pouch, power-horn, tomahawk and scalping-knife, attired herself like a man, in hat, hunting-shirt, leggings and moccasins, rode astride like the male sex, and went about the country on horseback, attending every muster of the soldiers, where she commanded universal attention. . . . She conveyed information to the commandants of forts, a service in which she took universal delight. . . ."<sup>89</sup>

According to Buell the Indians considered Anne to be insane, and, being insane, under the special care of the Great Spirit. Hence she roamed unmolested through the wilderness from Point Pleasant to the James and Potomac Rivers. So successful was she in her military endeavors that she was called the "Semiramis of America."<sup>90</sup>

Perhaps a hunting knife and a butcher knife are one and the same thing, but butcher knife is certainly a more colorful term. And Anne rode about the country "mounted on a favorite horse of great sagacity and rode like a man, with rifle over her shoulder and a tomahawk and butcher knife in her belt."<sup>91</sup>

As has been mentioned, Anne rendered aid to the settlers in any capacity where her services were needed. She was skilled at nursing and became almost as well loved for her unselfish devotion as a nurse as she was admired for her success as a scout and "... for eleven years she fearlessly dashed along the whole western border, going wherever her services required. . . ."<sup>92</sup>

Writers, men and women alike, were agreed that Anne was a woman of determination. "No mountain was too steep for her unfaltering steed; no winter so severe, no summer so hot, no enemy so cunning as to prevent her fulfillment of a once formed purpose."<sup>93</sup> "The murderers of the husband of her youth, were to be hunted, harried, exterminated if possible.

<sup>88</sup> Buell, p. 404.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Howe, p. 156.

<sup>92</sup> "Anne Bailey's Ride," *Southern Historical Magazine*, II (July, 1892), p. 90.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

And avenging his death she furthered the cause of freedom, made way for liberty, life, and good order in the new world."<sup>94</sup>

One of the trips that Anne took many times in the service of the settlers was from Fort Lee (Charleston) to Point Pleasant. The distance was sixty miles, and it took Anne two days and one night to make the trip. She usually slept in a cave when going to Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant).<sup>95</sup> It is also reported that Anne slept in hollow logs when carrying messages.<sup>96</sup>

Anne often outwitted the Indians, often left them utterly astonished. When the Indians saw her coming, they would "make off and raise the alarm, shouting 'The White Squaw!' to their companions."<sup>97</sup> They believed their bullets could not harm her.

Since the Indians joined the British in the Revolutionary War, Anne not only fought the Indians, but the British as well. She carried messages, powder, and supplies until the Revolution was over. After the Revolution she went to Fort Savannah (Lewisburg, W. Va.) and volunteered in the task of "winning the West" from the savages.<sup>98</sup>

One report of Anne's activities said that she lived for a time in "a hut built with her own hands on the ridge of a mountain which bears her name and high above the spot where the tablet now stands in her memory [Mad Ann's Ridge, Allegheny County, Virginia]. Here, from her point of vantage, she kept watch over the surrounding country and at first sight of the enemy she would mount her black horse, which she called 'Liverpool' and fly to warn the settlers."<sup>99</sup>

It should be recalled that, according to Cook, Anne and Richard Trotter established their home in Allegheny County, Virginia. According to Lewis, the rail cabin built by Anne's own hands was located near Gallipolis, Ohio, and was built during Anne's last years—and not in the early part of her career.

<sup>94</sup> Higley, p. 262.

<sup>95</sup> Lantry, p. 82.

<sup>96</sup> James Motion Callahan, *History of West Virginia* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, Inc., 1902), p. 226.

<sup>97</sup> Davidson, pp. 100-101.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>99</sup> McClintic, p. 4.

By 1935, one hundred ten years after Anne's death, her admirers and enthusiasts had expanded considerably her field of action, as well as the scope of her activities. "She ranged along the Allegheny mountains from North Carolina to Maryland recruiting the best soldiers Washington ever commanded in the Revolutionary War. . . . And she kept the officers of the Continental Army advised of conditions throughout the vast territory through which she rode while recruiting them."<sup>100</sup>

Anne was equipped for and capable of meeting any emergency. As a part of her equipment she carried a small axe. "When she needed a canoe she chopped down a tree, hollowed out the trunk and made one. . . ." When she needed food she shot game and cooked it on a stick.<sup>101</sup>

In 1953 superlatives were still employed when writing of Anne's scouting activities. The following quotation is from Ruth B. Scott's story in *The Richmond Times Dispatch*: "She was the best scout in all Virginia, especially in the Shenandoah and Kanawha valleys."<sup>102</sup> Again the activating motive was stressed as revenge. "She had seen her husband tortured and killed at the Battle of Point Pleasant."<sup>103</sup>

One 1953 writer suggested that her success was owing not only to her zeal but also to the strange awe in which she was held by the Indians. "Early in her career, evidently, she had mesmerized the Indians into believing that she possessed supernatural powers, or else they believed she was mentally queer, which was just as effective as having occult powers."<sup>104</sup> In this quotation the romantic tendency to the strange and occult is self evident. The surprising thing is that it was written in 1953.

As this study develops, Anne's eccentric ways will continue to be demonstrated, but in no place will a more singular habit be found than in the manner of making camp herein described.

Other points to be noted in this section are as follows: Anne's habit of drinking intoxicating liquors; the attitude of

<sup>100</sup> Summers, p. 26.

<sup>101</sup> Ruth Woods Dayton, *Pioneers and Their Homes on Upper Kanawha* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1947), p. 39.

<sup>102</sup> Scott, p. 18.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>104</sup> de Gruyter, p. 126.

the Indians toward her; the introduction of the supernatural element; and the re-occurrence of the revenge motif.

Of special interest is the extension of the territory and scope of Anne's scouting activities which have grown to include not only the Kanawha-Greenbrier area but the entire border from Maryland to Staunton. Of even greater importance is the dual suggestion of her attachment to Washington's army as a recruiting agent, and, at the same time, of her employment as informant for other officers of the Revolutionary Army. As a Revolutionary scout, Anne, according to her admirers, reached the highest possible distinction—that of service to Washington and his staff.

## VI

### Anne's Marriage to Bailey

There was nothing of special interest in the marriage of Anne Hennis and Richard Trotter and it was given small notice by Anne's biographers and enthusiasts. The marriage of Anne to John Bailey was a different matter, and writers capitalized upon the strange and romantic aspects of the union.

For eleven years Anne had followed pursuits almost exclusively masculine—pursuits which must, of necessity, have left their imprint upon her character, personality, and appearance. And writers speculated concerning the marriage of John and Anne.

One of the first attempts to explain the strange mating was made by Charles McKnight in *Our Western Border*. In 1875, McKnight wrote: "Strange that such an odd, rugged, intractable character should ever even for a day, allow the soft passion of love to usurp the place of her fierce and cruel revenge! Stranger still, that any mortal man could be found who would be attracted by such a wild, stormy, riotous spirit. He must have 'wooed her as the lion woos his bride,' where the mutual caresses and encounters of love pass amid savage roars and growls and rude buffetings. But a man did woo, and win her, too, and his name it was Bailey, and so she became Mrs. Ann Bailey."<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> McKnight, p. 719.



McKnight continued his speculation concerning the success of the marriage: "Whether he ever 'tamed this shrew' history sayeth not, but we read that her unquenchable spirit and audacity, in spite of her many eccentricities, greatly endeared her to the whole border."<sup>106</sup>

Interest in Anne's love life continued and, in 1883, Mason contributed the following: "At some period in her career, this strange, unsexed creature, with her disordered intellect, was actually wooed and won by a man named Bailey, but this marriage made no change in her life, except that, instead of being known as 'Mad Ann' she was thereafter 'Mad Ann Bailey.'"<sup>107</sup>

The date of Anne's second marriage remained more constant than of the first, but variations did occur: "About the year 1777, she married a man named Bailey, and shortly after accompanied him to Clendenin Fort . . . in which her husband had been assigned to garrison duty."<sup>108</sup>

Writers disagreed not only on the date of Anne's second marriage but also on the duration of her widowhood and her age at the time of the second marriage. Buell contributed the following account of the marriage: "After sixteen years of widowhood the gentle influence of love pervaded her bosom, and in 1790 she married a man by the name of John Bailey, a soldier with whose name her checkered and eventful career is linked."<sup>109</sup> May we recall for the reader that Buell had given Anne's birthdate as 1700?

Bailey's name was an inconstant factor in the story of Anne's romance. According to Messenger, Anne's second husband was Robert Bailey. She "went with him to old Fort Union, thence to Fort Lee, leaving her little son in the care of protecting friends."<sup>110</sup> It will be recalled that, according to Lewis, William Trotter was born in 1767, and also, according to Lewis, that the date of Anne's second marriage was 1785. Therefore, the little son referred to by Messenger was, at the time of this marriage, eighteen years of age.

Bailey was reported to be a distinguished frontiersman and

<sup>106</sup> McKnight, p. 44.  
<sup>107</sup> Mason, p. 44.  
<sup>108</sup> Trotter, p. 44.  
<sup>109</sup> Buell, p. 44.  
<sup>110</sup> Messenger, p. 1.

brave scout, but only once was it reported that he became commander of a fort: "In 1785 she was married in Greenbrier County to a brave scout named John Bailey who soon after became the commandant at Fort Clendenin [Fort Lee] and took his bride with him to his new post."<sup>111</sup> Cook's assertion that John Bailey's name cannot be found in the documents relating to Fort Lee is of interest at this point.

The marriage date was changed once again, in 1923, when it was written that Anne married Bailey in 1780.<sup>112</sup>

Writers continued to speculate on reasons for the strange marriage: "Companionship and the interchange of free talk with a sturdy fellow creature after a long day of hazardous activity probably led her into this union."<sup>113</sup> In this quotation the influence of realism and plain common sense may be observed, which, to this writer at least, is refreshing.

A last speculation concerning the marriage occurred in 1938, when a *Charleston Gazette* writer volunteered the following: "His services to the army were similar to Anne's; his bitterness equal to that of the young widow."<sup>114</sup> This, it will be noted, is the first suggestion of bitterness on the part of John Bailey. Possibly the writer felt the need of explaining Bailey's action in marrying so strange a creature as Anne. It is known that the feeling of bitterness and hatred for the Indians was strong along the border. It would seem that the writer in question has simply attributed to one individual an excess measure of what was a general attitude, and in so doing he has explained, to his own satisfaction at least, this strange marriage.

From a literary point of view, the chief interest to be found in the accounts of this phase of Anne's career is the extreme romanticism of the writers who tell the story. Also of interest is the attempt to explain, psychologically, the reasons for the marriage. The one instance of realism in writing about the marriage has already been mentioned.

<sup>111</sup> Callahan, p. 220.

<sup>112</sup> Pearl Pollock Strongforth, "Know of Ann Bailey? You Should for Her Story Is a Quaker One," *Huntington (West Virginia) Herald Dispatch*, December 8, 1923. Clipping located in the Poffenbarger scrapbooks. Page not given.

<sup>113</sup> McDaniel, p. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Feature article in *The Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette*, February 8, 1938.

## VII

**The Siege and Ride**

Anne Bailey's chief claim to glory rests on the account of her heroic ride to Lewisburg for powder when Fort Lee was under siege by the Indians. As has been shown, through the investigations of Dr. Cook, there is no evidence of a documentary nature to support the story of the siege and ride. The question naturally arises as to the origin of the oft repeated and highly decorative tale.

It is well to point out that there are two other instances, in the pioneer history of West Virginia, of daring efforts to procure ammunition. Fleming Cobbs, when Fort Lee was a second time (reputedly) out of powder, made a canoe trip to Point Pleasant, a distance of sixty-four miles, and brought back the needed ammunition. The popular story concerning this feat is that the trip up the river from Point Pleasant to Charleston was "a race with a band of Indians bent upon his destruction." However, Cobbs escaped the Indians and reached Fort Lee in safety.<sup>113</sup>

The deed which most nearly parallels Anne Bailey's ride is the dash for powder made by Betty Zane when Fort Henry (present site of Wheeling, West Virginia) was under attack by the Indians. Colonel Ebenezer Zane's house, a short distance from the fort, was used as a store house for ammunition. When the Indian attack became imminent, Colonel Zane determined to remain in his house, enough powder being transferred to the fort to withstand the siege. However, the siege was of longer duration than had been anticipated and the supply of powder ran low. Elizabeth Zane, younger sister of Colonel Zane, volunteered to go for the powder. The Indians, amazed to see a woman issue boldly from the fort, made no attempt to harm her, "only exclaiming 'a squaw, a squaw' . . ." Betty reached the cabin, Colonel Zane tied a table cloth around her waist, and emptied a keg of powder into it. Betty sprang from the cabin and raced in safety to the fort, this time braving the fire of the Indians.<sup>114</sup> This attack on Fort Henry took

<sup>113</sup> Cook, *Annals*, p. 76.

<sup>114</sup> Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Clarksburg, Virginia: J. Israel, 1831), pp. 333-339.

place on September 10, 1782.<sup>117</sup> This was several years prior to the alleged siege of Fort Lee.

It should be stated, before continuing further, that Withers does not mention a siege at Fort Lee, nor does he mention Anne Bailey. Another of the early historians of this period, Willis DeHass,<sup>118</sup> also fails to mention Anne or the siege at Fort Lee.

The first published account of Anne's ride for powder occurred in the obituary, previously mentioned. In this account William Clendenin is reported as saying that an Indian attack was expected, that the powder was low, and that Anne rode to Lewisburg and brought back the needed ammunition. If the expected siege materialized, it was not recorded in the obituary.<sup>119</sup>

The first account which told fully the story of the ride was an idealized version, a long poem, "A Legend of the Kanawha", written in close imitation of Sir Walter Scott. Lewis and Cook agree that the poem was written by a Civil War soldier by the name of Charles Robb. They disagree, however, concerning the publication date of the poem. Lewis stated: "Charles Robb, of the United States Army was at Gauley Bridge, in 1861, and having heard the story of Anne Bailey wrote the following [the poem], which appeared at the time in the Clearmont [Ohio] *Courier*."<sup>120</sup>

Dr. Cook wrote that "on November 7, 1861, he [Robb] completed a twenty-four stanza story of *A Legend of the Kanawha*. After the war, he removed to Clearmont County, Ohio, and this story was published in *The Courier of Clearmont*."<sup>121</sup>

Early in the poem Robb gave the source of his material, stating plainly that he got the story from a mountaineer:

Then spake a hardy mountaineer  
(His beard was long, his eye was clear;  
And clear his voice, of metal tone,  
Just such as all would wish to own)—  
"I've heard a legend old," he said,

<sup>117</sup> Charles Henry Ambler, *West Virginia, the Mountain State* (New York: Fennell-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 128.

<sup>118</sup> Willis DeHass, *History of Early Settlements and Indian Wars of Western Virginia, Wheeling (Virginia)*: H. Rohlfert; Philadelphia: Printed by King and Baird, 1881.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

<sup>120</sup> Lewis, *Life and Times*, p. 65.

<sup>121</sup> Cook, *Annals*, p. 82.



It is interesting to note, and to speculate upon, the fact that this full story of the ride was of a creative rather than historical nature. It is interesting also to consider the fact that the poem was written seventy years after the alleged ride took place.

In reflecting upon the possible origin of the story, assuming for the moment that Cook is right and the ride did not occur, it is well to notice the similarity between one incident of the Betty Zane story, as told by Withers, and one incident in the poem by Robb. The Indians indifferent to Betty Zane's leaving the fort, and yelling "a squaw, a squaw," let her go unmolested to her brother's cabin. Robb, in describing Anne's issuance from Fort Lee, uses the same words:

'A squaw! a squaw!' the chieftain cries,  
( 'A squaw! a squaw!' the host replies: )

Robb, however, does not follow through and permit Anne to depart in peace.

'To horse! to horse! the chieftain cried,  
They mount in haste and madly ride.  
Along the rough, uneven way,  
The pathway of the lady lay;

Whatever the source of Robb's material, his colorful account of Anne's heroic ride changed the character of written matter concerning her. Prior to this time writers had been concerned with her eccentricities, peculiarities, and activities as a scout. From this time on, the story of the ride formed the basic part of any written matter concerning her.

An 1873 version of the ride tells us that a runner was sent from Point Pleasant to warn the inhabitants of the Charleston area that one hundred warriors had crossed the Ohio and were heading in the direction of Fort Lee or Greenbrier County. The settlers gathered in. Powder was low and Anne volunteered to ride to Lewisburg. "A good horse was furnished her, with a stock of jerked venison and johnny-cake." Anne crossed mountains and swam rivers. At night she made a bed by driving forked sticks, three feet high, into the ground and laying boards on stakes across them. There she slept amid the buzzing of insects and the howling of wolves. The day after Anne's return with the powder, the attack came. Anne fought

bravely and killed one Indian, thereby accomplishing her revenge.<sup>122</sup>

As in the stories of Anne's scouting activities, this version of the siege and ride ends on the revenge motif. May we again point out to the reader that this theme is of regular recurrence in the story?

Robb, in his poetical version of the tale, described only the perils of the first half of Anne's journey, either assuming that the reader would take for granted the dangers of the return trip, or being prevented by his artistic sense from repeating himself—the dangers obviously being the same. It was not long, however, until the return trip was being described as vividly as the "dash" to Lewisburg. One who led the way in this was Charles McKnight: "With a led horse weighted down with ammunition, she resolutely commenced her return; her trail followed by packs of ravenous wolves or still more dangerous redskins, sleeping by night amid the profound solitudes of the wilderness and on spreads of boughs raised high on stakes to protect her from venomous snakes or savage beasts; crossing raging torrents, breasting craggy heights; ever watching for Indian sign, but ever avoiding Indian attacks, until she heroically delivered her powder and saved the fort."<sup>123</sup>

Wide variations occurred as to the time of the Indian attack on Fort Lee. Did the assault come before Anne left for powder, during her absence, or after her return? Some writers followed Robb and maintained there had been a long siege. Mason, in his colorful account, wrote: "Unable to subdue it [Fort Lee] by force, the besiegers undertook to reduce it by famine."<sup>124</sup>

Mason was concerned with the terrain over which Anne rode and with the route she followed: "The way led through dense forests, bottomless morasses, vast ranges of mountains, terrific precipices, and rushing rivers. . . . Avoiding all trails, roads, and regular passes, she took her way directly across the mountains of West Virginia for more than a hundred miles."<sup>125</sup>

And Mason added to the perils of the return trip. The venomous snakes, which, according to McKnight, had made

<sup>122</sup> Elliot, pp. 220-221.  
<sup>123</sup> McKnight, p. 502.  
<sup>124</sup> Mason, p. 400.  
<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 402.

sleep dangerous for Anne became, in Mason's imagination, equally dangerous by day, and he wrote: "At every step beset by hissing serpents which still infest the mountains of Virginia . . . ." <sup>126</sup>

There was considerable difference of opinion concerning the distance from Fort Lee (Charleston, West Virginia) to Lewisburg. It would seem that the longer the ride, the greater Anne's glory and the generally accepted hundred miles increased to one hundred forty <sup>127</sup> and soon thereafter to one hundred fifty miles. <sup>128</sup> Two days and nights were all the time required for Anne to cover this distance. <sup>129</sup>

"I will go." These three words uttered in a ringing voice by Anne and quoted repeatedly by subsequent writers, were, strangely enough, not added to printed versions of the story until 1892. At the same time Anne's feelings and emotions on the trip received some attention: "Darkness and day were one to her. It was a ride for life and there could be no stop." This same scribe continued creative and Anne's entrance into the fort is described: "The garrison in Fort Lee welcomed her return, and she entered it, as she had left it, under a shower of balls." The men then sallied forth and broke the siege. <sup>130</sup>

Robb clearly indicated in 1861 that the men were afraid to go for powder. A woman, in 1907, took up the theme: "Brave men paled and looked at each other in dismay that appalled them. A dead silence fell." <sup>131</sup> Then Anne bravely volunteered to ride for the powder.

The manner of Anne's leaving Fort Lee and of her entrance into the fort upon her return from Lewisburg are matters of conjecture. Mrs. Messenger described Anne's entry into the Fort as triumphal: ". . . and at last nearly exhausted, but animated by the hope of saving the garrison, she reached Fort Lee amid shouts, the echoes of which died among the wild hills around . . ." Almost as an afterthought was added: "In addition, the latter part of her long, lonely, perilous journey was under savage fire." <sup>132</sup>

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Hardesty, p. 9.

<sup>128</sup> Buell, p. 256.

<sup>129</sup> Hardesty, p. 9.

<sup>130</sup> "Anne Bailey's Ride," p. 90.

<sup>131</sup> Messenger, pp. 7-8.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Anne's route is another point on which there has been much conjecture: "History has preserved sufficient records of the journey to enable us to trace it on the map."<sup>133</sup> Was there a road from Charleston to Lewisburg in 1791? "... and the way lay ... along trackless ways, across deep rivers, and over the mountains through a region where thitherto only the wild animal, the wilder Indian, or the frontier warrior, had made their way."<sup>134</sup> Was it, indeed, a trackless forest? "On she goes over the well known road. With steady hand she guides the steed."<sup>135</sup>

Subsequent writers did not always agree with Mr. Robb that on leaving Fort Lee, Anne dashed gallantly through the "op'ning portal." William Alexander MacCorkle, ex-governor of West Virginia, writing in 1916, added a welcome touch of realism to the story of the ride. Knowing full well the necessity of absolute quiet if Anne were to escape detection, MacCorkle wrote: "... the door was opened and she went forth like a wraith into the trackless forest ..."<sup>136</sup> and MacCorkle was consistent about the manner of Anne's return: "After the darkness of the night, when hope died away in the heart of the garrison, a quite knocking was heard at the gates of Fort Lee, and ... Anne Bailey was admitted to the fort ..."<sup>137</sup>

In 1926, a weak effort at defining Anne's mental attitude was made by Percy Reniers. According to Reniers, Anne had no misgivings concerning the trip: "She was the first eager volunteer for this enterprise and under cover of night she stole out of the fort on her black pony Liverpool and through the Indian lines."<sup>138</sup>

An account of the ride, which rivaled Robb's poem as far as colorful detail is concerned, appeared in 1931—written by Harry Edmond Danford. Danford's version was pure fiction and included incidents heretofore unmentioned by any of the writers surveyed in this study. A brief synopsis of Danford's account follows:

According to this story, the Indians planned to destroy Fort

<sup>133</sup> Robb, p. 30.  
<sup>134</sup> William Alexander MacCorkle, *The White Sulphur Springs* (New York: The MacCorkle Publishing Company, 1916), pp. 20-21.  
<sup>135</sup> MacCorkle, p. 21.  
<sup>136</sup> MacCorkle, p. 21.  
<sup>137</sup> MacCorkle, p. 21.  
<sup>138</sup> Percy Reniers, *The Midland Trail* (New York: The Midland Publications Company, 1926), p. 21.



Lee and scalp every paleface who had dared to trespass upon their prized hunting grounds. The attack came on an April night—amid a severe thunderstorm, the darkness being so deep the defenders could see the Indians only by the intermittent flashes of lightning. Belatedly, the commander of the fort realized that the powder was low. Anne volunteered to go to Lewisburg for powder and, when her husband forbade her going, reminded him that the word obey had been stricken from their marriage vows. In ten minutes she was on her way.

At the mouth of Campbell's Creek, a few miles up the Kanawha River from Fort Lee, Anne saw, by the light of a full moon, the storm presumably having passed, a canoe tied up on the opposite side of the river. She recognized the canoe as belonging to Daniel Boone and, wishing to speak with him, she screamed like a panther. Boone recognized Anne's scream and paddled across the river. Anne told him her story, then was off into the forest for Lewisburg and the powder. Danford brings Anne back to Fort Lee, but does not mention Boone again.<sup>139</sup>

Another purely fictitious account of Anne's ride, written by Grace M. Hall, was published in the *West Virginia Review*, in 1942. The author inserted a notation to the effect that she had made no effort to be historically correct. The story was written in a realistic manner, the author attempting to follow Anne on her hazardous journey, recording her thoughts and reactions as she rode through the wilderness. Anne's rough language, her tobacco, and her rum were neither minimized nor exaggerated. A grim sense of humor was attributed to Anne, when she is quoted as saying to herself, " 'Devil of a lookin' bride I'd made without my scalp lock.' "<sup>140</sup>

Anne's services at Fort Lee expanded with the telling and retelling of the tale. In one instance, not only did Anne go for powder, it was she who had ridden through the settlements warning the settlers of their danger. It was she who had herded them into the fort for protection.<sup>141</sup>

Then the chroniclers suffered a change of mind as concerned

<sup>139</sup> Danford, pp. 120-122.

<sup>140</sup> Grace M. Hall, "A Ride Across of Darkness," *West Virginia Review*, XVIII-XIX (June, 1942), p. 120.

<sup>141</sup> McCauley, p. 2.

the weather. There was no April storm on that fateful night in 1791. It was a calm mid-summer night, all peaceful. The men were sleeping peacefully within the stockade—all but one lone sentry. The sentry heard the "whoo" of an owl and in the dimness saw dark forms. "Indians!" When the fact was disclosed that ammunition was low, Anne, "with shining eyes," volunteered to go for powder.<sup>142</sup>

Did Anne travel at night, or by day, or night and day? "Alone on her horse, with rifle across her saddle, fireless at night creeping through underbrush by day to avoid the open trail, Anne Bailey reached the fort at Lewisburg, rested her horse overnight, and then with all the munitions another horse could carry she started back to the relief of Fort Clendenin."<sup>143</sup>

One writer, in 1928, in describing Anne's daring action in riding for the powder reports that Anne "... rode alone from Fort Lee to Lewisburg to secure powder, a journey successfully accomplished not only once, but several times."<sup>144</sup>

Again, in 1928, Anne's story was told in verse, the poet this time being a woman, or more probably a girl scout. The title of the poem was "A Girl Scout of 1791," and the publication date coincided (approximately) with the date of the dedication of Camp Ann Bailey, Kanawha County Girl Scout Camp, near Lewisburg, West Virginia. The poem follows:<sup>145</sup>

At Charleston in the days of old,  
Clendenin stood, a fortress bold.  
A woman saved it once, I'm told:  
Ann Bailey.

For Wester chiefs, (so said a spy),  
Were vowing: 'Every white must die!'  
But one kept watch with eagle eye:  
Ann Bailey.

So when they reached Kanawha's flood,-  
All thirsty for the white man's blood-  
Who found it out and brought the word?  
Ann Bailey.

<sup>142</sup> *Support*, p. 32.

<sup>143</sup> *Support*, p. 32.

<sup>144</sup> Ruth Woods Dorton, *Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1942), p. 228.

<sup>145</sup> Anne Mark Shewler, "A Girl Scout of 1791," *West Virginia Review*, V (August, 1928), p. 422.

Then swore the colonel and his crew,  
(Tho' Ann was standing by, 'tis true),  
'The powder's spent! What shall we do,  
Ann Bailey?'

I'll bring the shot! and she was gone  
To Lewisburg, to ride alone  
A hundred miles o'er brake and stone:  
Ann Bailey.

All day she braved the forest dark  
At night her bed the branches stark  
Nor quailed at e'en the wolf's wild bark:  
Ann Bailey.

Next day to Lewisburg she came,  
Asked but the powder, wheeled again  
And only stopped to give her name:-  
Ann Bailey.

Brave girl! Did bird nor beast affright-  
(Your only bed the mountain height,  
Your only canopy the night,)-  
Ann Bailey?

Yet in the morn there skimmed the ground  
And reached the fort with leap and bound  
Just as broke forth the war whoop's sound  
Ann Bailey!

And with the Pale Face beat that day,  
Though only Men were in the fray,  
Who REALLY saved the country? Say!  
Ann Bailey.

What inferences, of a literary nature, can be drawn from the story of the siege and ride?

In the first place, according to Cook, there was no siege at Fort Lee; and further, there is no documentary evidence that Anne was ever connected with that fort. What, then, are the possible sources of the story?

Two parallel stories, historically acceptable, may be cited in West Virginia history—the stories of Fleming Cobbs and Betty Zane. There is a possibility that, in seventy years of telling and re-telling the Zane, Cobbs, and Bailey stories, the incidents may have become mixed, and the bringing of powder was borrowed from the Zane or Cobbs story and added to the accounts

of Anne's scouting activities. The fact that Robb's poem did not appear until seventy years after the alleged ride, and fact that he mentions his source as being a mountaineer seems to strengthen this view. However, it must not be assumed that the story of Anne's ride is entirely fictitious. In Anne's obituary, William Clendenin is reported to have said that Anne did bring powder from Lewisburg at a time when the Indians were threatening Fort Lee.

In the unfolding of the tradition of the ride it should be remembered that the account of the ride to Lewisburg came, fullfledged, from the pen of Charles Robb. Writers then seized upon the story and added details concerning the return trip, the trail over which she rode, how she left the fort, how she entered it upon her return, and what her thoughts were while riding through the forest.

Most of the versions are highly romantic but a bit of realism creeps into the story in MacCorkle's common-sense version of how Anne left and re-entered Fort Lee. The story by Grace M. Hall was definitely written in a realistic vein, with some attempt at psychological analysis.

It should also be mentioned that in killing an Indian after her return to Fort Lee, Anne "accomplished her revenge."

## VIII

### After the Indian Wars

After the Indians had been driven from the Kanawha Valley, Anne's services as a scout were obviously no longer needed, but she continued her eccentric ways, spending much time in the forest, fishing and hunting; and it is said that she seldom wasted a shot.<sup>145</sup>

As has been shown in several instances, the tendency of most of the writers who have told Anne's story is toward romanticism. With the romantic emphasis upon nature and the extolling of the simple and natural mode of life as the noblest and the best, it was inevitable that some writer should portray Anne as a nature lover—regardless of whether Anne's years

<sup>145</sup> "Mad Anne," p. 231.



of roving the wilderness were for love of nature or for the purpose of inflicting vengeance upon her savage foes. It was Mrs. Messenger who added this further touch of romanticism to the Anne Bailey tradition: "... and to the last she retained her exceptional devotion to nature and primitive forms of life in country and forest."<sup>147</sup>

Anne's eccentricity is demonstrated in the fact that even though her days as an Indian scout were over, she continued to wear an assortment of male and female dress. Ellet wrote that Anne was usually clad in buckskin leggings, a skirt, and a man's coat. She is reputed to have visited widely in the homes along the border, always returning to her own cabin laden with gifts.<sup>148</sup>

How long John Bailey lived after Anne's gallant ride is a matter of question, and only Buell has made any statement as to the cause of his death: "After the death of her husband, who was murdered and buried not far from Kanawha Falls, in West Virginia . . . she lived with her son, William Trotter . . . ."<sup>149</sup>

Anne did more than hunt, fish, and visit. She engaged in a kind of express business from Staunton to Gallipolis, bringing to the border settlements medicines, small packages, "... anything that could be carried on a horse . . . ."<sup>150</sup> "But she did not always ride. Many times Anne Bailey made the long, hard journey on foot, bearing on her back heavy packs of great bulk."<sup>151</sup> The tradition that Anne was possessed of unusual physical strength and endurance is suggested in the stories of her repeated trips from Staunton to Gallipolis, either on foot or on horseback.

According to our writers, Anne not only brought goods to the settlers but livestock also. "She was known as a drover of hogs and cattle from the Shenandoah and there is a tradition that she introduced the first game geese in the Kanawha Valley."<sup>152</sup> And further—"When she brought cattle, she did it afoot."<sup>153</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Messenger, p. 8.

<sup>148</sup> Ellet, p. 255.

<sup>149</sup> Buell, p. 208.

<sup>150</sup> Leitch, p. 22.

<sup>151</sup> Deedard, pp. 116-117.

<sup>152</sup> Callahan, p. 226.

<sup>153</sup> Deupont, p. 24.

It is interesting to note that when Anne drove livestock from the Shenandoah Valley to the Kanawha, she was following approximately the route now known as U. S. 60. Much of this route is over difficult terrain. It might be suggested that Anne's activities as a driver of livestock may have been confined to lesser distances than those assigned to her. Having brought powder from Lewisburg, and other supplies from Staunton, Anne is credited with having driven the livestock from the Shenandoah also.

As in every other aspect of Anne's life, there was disagreement concerning her life after the ride. "We have not heard of Anne's existence after the hazardous trip which won for her an undying memory in all West Virginia. It is enough that her career, as far as history is concerned, ends with the dramatic ride which assured us of our present civilization."<sup>154</sup>

What could be more romantic than the conception that Anne rose to the occasion, met the desperate need of those imperiled at Fort Lee, then, her task performed, disappeared completely from public view! The point is that whatever Anne's occupation after the Indian wars—in the minds of writers it was dramatized and enlarged upon. Thus a tradition grows—a tradition of Anne as a nature lover, as a welcome visitor in the homes along the border, as a carrier of much needed goods to the pioneers, as a drover of livestock, as more than all of these—a tradition of a woman of extra-ordinary physical vigor and stamina.

## IX

### Anne's Last Years

Anne's last years were spent in Ohio, in or near Gallipolis. Stories about her last years, and especially concerning her age at the time of her death, vary greatly.

One early writer was content to say that she moved later to Ohio and died on the frontier, deeply lamented by all those whom she had served.<sup>155</sup> The reporting soon became specific. Anne went with her son to Ohio, near Gallipolis.<sup>156</sup> Then the

<sup>154</sup> *The Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette*, February 6, 1928.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 212-214.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

date was added. She went to Gallia County in 1802 and lived there nearly twenty-three years.<sup>157</sup>

Anne remained strong and active unto the end. "She made her last visit to Charleston in the summer of 1817, walking 75 miles when she was 75 years of age."<sup>158</sup> This statement quite obviously follows Lewis's 1891 story of Anne's life. In 1907, however, Miss Evelyn Sterrett, in a letter to Lewis, questioned his statement concerning the last trip to Charleston: "I doubted the correctness for this reason. The stopping point for travellers between Charleston and Point Pleasant was Samuel Alexander's. His daughter, my grandmother, was born in 1818, yet she could tell us much of interest about Ann Bailey. Although she was very young when Ann ceased to make her trips, she was greatly impressed by Ann's masculine dress, appearance and behavior. She could remember how Ann cared for the horses, the stories she would tell . . . I fell quite sure Ann must have taken a few rides as late as 1822 or 1823 or my grandmother could not have remembered her so distinctly . . ."<sup>159</sup> Perhaps Anne was even more hale and hearty than published accounts gave her credit for being.

Anne's age at the time of her death was controversial. She lived beyond one hundred years.<sup>160</sup> She died at the age of one hundred fourteen.<sup>161</sup> "She died in 1825, said then to be in the one hundred twentieth year of her age."<sup>162</sup> On the evening of November 23 Anne went to bed, being in extra good health. About ten o'clock she was found dead in her bed. Her age was one hundred twenty-five years.<sup>163</sup>

Anne's death was sentimentalized. "The spirit of this eccentric yet fearless character, was wafted to its final home on the twenty-second of November, 1825, and left the pulseless corpse in a rail shanty—the product of her own hands—on the Ohio River, just below Point Pleasant."<sup>164</sup> And more of the same kind of sentimentality: "She was never ill. She only ceased to breathe. Having heard a great voice saying, 'Come up higher', her soul answered swiftly and silently."<sup>165</sup>

<sup>157</sup> *Harbinger*, p. 8.

<sup>158</sup> *Colliery*, p. 239.

<sup>159</sup> Evelyn Sterrett, letter to Virgil A. Lewis, July 18, 1907.

<sup>160</sup> *Times*, p. 302.

<sup>161</sup> *Advertiser*, p. 126.

<sup>162</sup> *Harbinger*, p. 8.

<sup>163</sup> *Times*, p. 302.

<sup>164</sup> *McAllister*, p. 302.

<sup>165</sup> *Harbinger*, p. 262.

"Eccentric to the last, she refused to live in his [her son William's] comfortable house, and built herself a cabin out of fence rails, living in it with a granddaughter."<sup>166</sup> She died in 1825 at the age of eighty-three years.<sup>167</sup>

As late as 1953 a daughter was bestowed upon Anne. In writing of the rail cabin in which Anne lived for a short time, Julius de Gruyter wrote, "She lived there with her daughter until her death, November 22, 1825."<sup>168</sup>

Anne's obituary was published in *The Gallia Free Press* on December 3, 1825. It was published under the caption "Longevity". The obituary was preserved by Henry Howe, for whom it was copied by James Harper. James Harper's father was the publisher of *The Gallia Free Press*.<sup>169</sup>

Died, in Harrison township, Gallia County, Ohio, on Tuesday, November 22, 1825, the celebrated Ann Bailey. From the best account we have she must have been at least 125 years of age. According to her own story her father was a soldier in Queen Anne's wars; that on getting a furlough to go home he found his wife with a fine daughter in her arms, whom he called Ann after the Queen as a token of respect. In 1714 she went from Liverpool to London with her mother on a visit to her brother—while there, she saw Lord Lovett beheaded.

She came to the United States the year after Braddock's defeat, aged then forty-six years. Her husband was killed at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774; after that, to avenge his death, she joined the garrison, under the command of Col. Wm. Clendenin, where she remained until the final departure of the Indians from the country. Col. Wm. Clendenin says, while he was commander of the garrison where Charleston, Kanawha, is now located, an attack by Indians was hourly expected. On examination it was believed that ammunition on hand was insufficient to hold out a siege of any length; to send even two, three or four men to Lewisburg, the nearest place it could be had, a distance of 100 miles, was like sending men to be slaughtered; and sending a larger force was weakening the garrison. While in this state Ann Bailey volunteered to leave the fort in the night and go to Lewisburg. She did so—and traveled the wilderness, where not a vestige of a house was to be seen—arrived safe at Lewisburg, delivered her message, received the ammunition, and returned safe to her post, amidst the plaudits of a grateful people.

<sup>166</sup> Morton, p. 118.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *de Gruyter*, p. 118.

<sup>169</sup> Howe, pp. 476-478.



## X

**Description and Personality**

What did Anne Bailey look like? What were her personal characteristics?

Here again the accounts vary widely, according to the inclination of the author. The romantic influence of the nineteenth century is strong in the idealized descriptions in which Anne is possessed of perfect womanly beauty and grace.

And again the romantic tendency is shown by writers who picture Anne as strange and bizarre, as well as by those who describe in detail the matted grizzled locks of hair and the strange clothing which she wore.

The realistic point of view is represented in word pictures in which the hardships of Anne's life as wilderness scout are reflected in her coarse, roughened countenance and in her uncouth ways.

But, romantic or realistic as the case may be, in no phase of the Anne Bailey tradition is there greater evidence of conjecture, imagination and personal bias than in description of Anne and in the stories about her which illustrate her personal qualities. As has been mentioned, this emphasis upon description was especially true of writers prior to 1861 when Robb's story of the ride provided a new point of emphasis, and gave new direction to the development of the tradition.

Anne Royall, writing in 1826, only a few months after Anne's death, claimed to have seen Anne and talked with her. Mrs. Royall was realistic about Anne and in this respect was somewhat unique, most women writers having a tendency to extol Anne's virtues.

Mrs. Royall wrote: "I have seen the celebrated heroine, Ann Bailey. . . . She was quite a low woman in height, but very strongly made, and had the most pleasing countenance I ever saw, and for her, very affable. . . . When I saw the poor creature, she was almost naked; she begged a dram, which I gave to her and also some other trifle. I shall never forget Ann Bailey."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Royall, pp. 44-45.

Anne was not always referred to as a "poor creature." More often, as has been indicated, she was pictured as a bizarre one. "The dress of this individual was of a mongrel character, and a close observer might have been undecided which of the two sexes should claim our subject for its own. The head was bound round with a flaming red bandana handkerchief, from beneath whose folds there fell, and fluttered on the breeze, long grizzled locks of coarse matted hair, which gave a wild and savage appearance. . . . In the belt which encompassed the waist of this personage was a tomahawk and a scalping knife; and another belt sustained a short but very serviceable rifle which was strapped to the shoulders. . . ." <sup>171</sup>

The descriptive phrases quoted above were written in 1856. The writer continued his account by writing that this strange creature wore buckskin leggings "which reached from the hips to the feet. The feet were covered with a pair of beautiful Indian moccasins. Around the waist and depending two-thirds of the way to the feet, was a petticoat. . . ." <sup>172</sup>

She, for eventually the personage was revealed as a woman, was short, thick-set, coarse, and masculine. Her face was bronzed by exposure and showed "the unmistakable outline of care and passion." <sup>173</sup> She hunted, fought, rode like a man, and delighted in the excitement and adventure of the border. She became known as "Mad Ann" but no one dared call her that to her face. <sup>174</sup>

"She was very profane and often intoxicated . . . and could box with the skill of one of the fancy men of her native country. . . ." <sup>175</sup> She was pugnacious and often fought.

Anne had other accomplishments. She "possessed a considerable amount of intelligence . . ." and could read and write. She was skilled at story telling and "it was her delight to gather round her a group of listeners, and relate the adventures, trials and difficulties she had met with in her checkered career; and often the sympathetic tear would gather in the eyes and course down the cheeks of her audience." <sup>176</sup>

<sup>171</sup> "Mad Ann," pp. 220-226.  
<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p. 226.  
<sup>173</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>174</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>175</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p. 226.

Anne continued to be painted in eccentric colors, and, according to Bennett, writing in 1859, "She was a short, dumpy woman, with large muscular limbs and a full, bluff, coarse, masculine countenance; and her dress was an odd mixture of the two sexes. . . ." Bennett followed the 1856 writer and Anne's hair was allowed to remain coarse, bushy, and uncombed, but it "was surmounted by a raccoon cap."<sup>177</sup> The raccoon cap was perhaps inevitable and it is interesting that no other writer has followed Bennett's lead in this respect.

Bennett continued to follow the 1856 author, repeating the idea and strengthening the tradition of Anne as rough and masculine, swearing, drinking, fighting, "holding her own" with the strongest men on the border. "She could swear like a trooper, drink whiskey like a bar-room lounge, and box with the skill of a pugilist."<sup>178</sup>

One of the oft repeated stories concerning Anne told how she appeared late one night at Fort Young, bearing two Indian scalps. "As she came into the light of the fire, however, there arose several quick exclamations of surprise and alarm . . . for it was immediately discovered that her face (and most of her person) was covered with blood, which was even then slowly oozing and dripping down from a long ugly gash that crossed the upper portion of the temple and extended from her forehead to her ear."<sup>179</sup>

Anne was taciturn. Two big draughts of whiskey, one being nearly half a pint, were brought. "Mad Ann seized the cup, looked steadily at its contents for a few moments, and then poured it down her throat as if it was so much water." Then she pulled from her bosom "two Indian scalps, from which the fresh blood was yet dripping."<sup>180</sup> She defied the men to beat that ". . . you big, robust, blustering male fellows, who call yourselves the lords of creation."<sup>181</sup>

She took another big drink and told her story. She was riding through the forest when she received warnings "from t'other world." She rode on "and then something came and touched me—something from t'other world—and I knew the

<sup>177</sup> Bennett, p. 204.  
<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.  
<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.  
<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

danger was nigh and great—a last warning of death."<sup>162</sup> Anne rode on and came upon some Indians, camped and eating. Then the voice told Anne to kill the Indians or they would kill her. Anne answered the spirit voice, "Yes, Lord!" She promised to "kill or die,"<sup>163</sup> She killed the Indians and the next day led the settlers to where the bodies lay.<sup>164</sup>

Through all the literature concerning Anne Bailey, her hatred of Indians and desire for revenge is stressed, and this story is repeated, but in no other writing is she portrayed as being as blood-thirsty as in this account.

It was only two years after this story was published that Robb wrote his poem in which he described Anne as possessing all the beauty and grace that any woman could desire.

But one who stood amidst the rest  
The bravest, fairest and the best  
Of all that graced the cabin hall,  
First broke the spell of terror's thrall.  
Her step was firm, her features fine,  
Of mortal mould, the most divine;  
But why describe her graces fair,  
Her form, her mein, her stately air?  
Nay, hold! my pen, I will not dare!  
'Twas Heaven's image mirrored there.<sup>165</sup>

Elizabeth F. Ellet followed Robb as the next writer, chronologically, to be concerned with Anne Bailey. Ellet described Anne in her later years. It is immediately obvious that Anne is considerably mellowed by time, and perhaps by the influence of Robb's poem on Mrs. Ellet. However, Anne retained enough of her fierce qualities to be "a terror to refractory children."<sup>166</sup> "She often took it upon herself to enforce the keeping of the Sabbath by taking up such boys as she found wandering about that day, and compelling them to sit around her in a cabin, while she opened school exercises for their instruction, greatly to the terror of the delinquents."<sup>167</sup> Anne won prizes at shooting matches,<sup>168</sup> and called not only her horse but also her canoe and gun "Liverpool."<sup>169</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Robb, p. 108.

<sup>163</sup> Robb, pp. 106-108.

<sup>164</sup> Robb, p. 111.

<sup>165</sup> Ellet, *Life and Times*, p. 61.

<sup>166</sup> Ellet, p. 62.

<sup>167</sup> Ellet, p. 62.



"It is said that 'Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned.' Neither hath it any like a woman wronged and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of vengeance. There was a wild unnatural brightness in her sharp, gray eyes, and a mocking jeer in her loud, grating laugh."<sup>190</sup> And it was admitted that "She was somewhat disordered in her intellect."<sup>191</sup>

Anne's efficiency in the use of invective was illustrated by the story of her meeting with a straggling Indian on Sewell Mountain. Tying her horse's bridle around her ankle, she crawled into a hollow log. When the Indian tried to steal the horse, Anne crawled out of the log and abused the Indian so roundly that he ran off, fearing she would bring down upon him the anger of the Great Spirit.<sup>192</sup>

Even the earliest writers disagreed about Anne's appearance: "She was small, round-shouldered, fleet of foot and dressed in black."<sup>193</sup> She was a good hunter "and as frequently as any of them, killed a deer off hand, while it was running at full speed. She asked odds of no man at running, jumping, shooting, or hunting."<sup>194</sup>

Anne rode a powerful black horse called Liverpool. "It was the only living creature she loved. Her horse and her rifle were her constant companions. . . . Amid storms of rain and sleet, beset by the rigors of winter, followed by wild beasts, or pursued by Indians, her immense frame of iron strength knew no fatigue, her restless rancor no slumber."<sup>195</sup>

It was Buell who first related how Anne had been kidnapped, with her books in her arms and brought to America. Buell was consistent. He wrote that she loved her books, and, after moving to Ohio in 1818, she taught school.<sup>196</sup> At this time Anne was, if the birthdate assigned to her by Buell is to be accepted, one hundred eighteen years of age.

Buell described Anne as a protector of women. At a husking bee a settler by the name of Hazlett got too much whiskey

<sup>190</sup> McIntosh, p. 308.  
<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.  
<sup>192</sup> Hutchinson, p. 128.  
<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.  
<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.  
<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.  
<sup>196</sup> Buell, pp. 224-225.

and was going to beat his wife. Anne drew her trusty scalping knife and frightened the ruffian into behaving.<sup>197</sup>

Another story, frequently told, relates how Anne had gone to Mann's powder-house for ammunition. While she was crossing Mad Ann's Ridge, snow started to fall. Anne dismounted and fell asleep. Liverpool went back to Mann's. The next morning Anne was located by the holes made in the snow by her warm breath.<sup>198</sup>

Evelyn Sterrett, in letters to Virgil A. Lewis, volunteered the following information concerning Anne. While on her way from Charleston to Point Pleasant, Anne frequently stopped at a place called Alexander's. The children were frightened of her, "yet filled with curiosity." Anne was usually silent. "However, sometimes she would rouse from silence and try to entertain them by hooting like an owl and saying, 'I shot an owl across Helk out of a helm tree,' then with another hoot relapse into silence."<sup>199</sup>

While stopping at Alexander's, Anne cared for her own horses, especially if Liverpool was one of them. "After seeing them comfortably fed and sheltered, she would box and wrestle with the stable boys for amusement using the same coarse profane language, smoking, chewing and drinking."<sup>200</sup>

When Anne was carrying ammunition, she wore men's attire, but when carrying messages or other commissions, she wore women's clothing, a linsey-woolsey dress. She occasionally wore a hat "over her unkept gray hair, but usually it was covered by a large handkerchief folded three-cornered and tied under her chin."<sup>201</sup>

That Anne enjoyed a joke is suggested in the following incident told by Miss Sterrett. This anecdote was found only in the Sterrett letter of 1908. A young man once hallooed impudently to her as she turned her canoe toward the shore near Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant). Retorting that she would kiss him, Anne sprang from the canoe, caught the young man, threw him, and kissed him.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>198</sup> *Memorandum*, p. 208.

<sup>199</sup> Sterrett, 1907.

<sup>200</sup> Miss Evelyn Sterrett, letter to Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, 1908.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

The settlers were devoted to Anne and she to them: "For this became her passion and her services to the settlers as scout, soldier, provisioner of forts and as teacher of their children, were hooks of steel, by which, her devotion having been tried, they bound her to themselves and themselves to her."<sup>203</sup> "The people fairly idolized her. She was loaded with gifts of every sort and treated with the greatest respect and kindness."<sup>204</sup>

Writers continued to describe Anne's appearance and personality: "... a fair complexion, hazel eyes, a rather undersized but perfect form, a sweet disposition, and a mind strong and rigorous. . . ."<sup>205</sup> She was honest to the last penny and while "perhaps no church member she was a good woman and observed the Sabbath day and said her prayers and was received and welcomed into all the families."<sup>206</sup>

Anne's gentle qualities are challenged in still another tale of her horse being stolen by an Indian. Anne trailed the Indian and found him swimming New River with the animal. "The thief was shot in the back. After an outburst of scurrilous profanity directed at her dead foe, Mrs. Bailey called to the horse and 'Jennie Mann' swam back to her."<sup>207</sup>

"There was nothing gentle or religious about Anne, but she rendered more valuable service to the building of the frontier than half a dozen ordinary men of her time."<sup>208</sup> "Often she disappeared for weeks at a time . . . but when she returned she always brought the scalps of several Indians, and it is said that the savages grew to fear her greatly."<sup>209</sup> And yet it was written three years later: "In case of sickness Anne was known as the gentlest and best of all the nurses. . . ."<sup>210</sup>

What kind of person was Anne? Her great-great-grandson, Harry Irion, summed up her personal characteristics: "The statement about her boxing and wrestling with the stable boys for sheer amusement illustrates to me a robust, roguish sense of backwoods humor as well as an opportunity to demonstrate her physical prowess, of which she was justly proud. I doubt

100	Irion, Harry	2	1881
101	Irion, Harry	2	1881
102	Irion, Harry	2	1881
103	Irion, Harry	2	1881
104	Irion, Harry	2	1881
105	Irion, Harry	2	1881
106	Irion, Harry	2	1881
107	Irion, Harry	2	1881
108	Irion, Harry	2	1881
109	Irion, Harry	2	1881
110	Irion, Harry	2	1881

that she was profane within the strict meaning of that term. My reason for questioning her alleged profanity is due to the tradition in my own family that Anne read her Bible, taught her grandchildren on Sunday, and had strong faith in a protecting and loving God. No doubt she used tobacco and drank alcoholic liquors, for that was common practice among our frontiersmen. . . ."<sup>211</sup>

The reader's attention has already been called to the fact that writers before 1861 concentrated on descriptions of Anne, pointing out her strange and bizarre qualities. It was these early writers who started the tradition of Anne as a boisterous, hard-drinking, fighting, swearing woman, the equal in physical strength and skill at the masculine accomplishments of shooting, wrestling, boxing and hunting of any man on the border.

These early writers were also responsible for the tradition of Anne's bloodthirstiness and extreme hatred of the Indians. The element of superstition was also introduced into the story early in its development.

Beginning with Robb in 1861, writers have portrayed a different Anne—Anne the heroine, still, in most cases, physically strong and vigorous, excelling in the masculine pursuits of hunting, wrestling, and boxing, but taking on characteristics of a gentler and nobler nature. She loved books and taught school, was religious, and enjoyed a practical joke. Her passion for service to the settlers supplanted, to some degree, her desire for revenge. The extreme devotion of the settlers to Anne is evidence of her noble qualities.

However, it must not be assumed that all writers immediately began, after 1861, to portray only a noble and virtuous Anne. Writers in the mid-nineteen thirties were still writing of Anne as rough and irreligious but even they admitted her value to the settlers she served.

One other contrast in description of Anne's personality should be mentioned. She was sometimes portrayed as extremely taciturn, sometimes as friendly and garrulous—much given to story telling in which she was adept. It would seem that Anne was all things to all writers.

<sup>211</sup> Harry S. Irons, letter to the author, December 7, 1933.



## XI

## Memorials and Descendants

The demand for a memorial commemorating the deeds of Anne Bailey was voiced by Augustus Lincy Mason, in 1883, when he wrote: "Virginia and Ohio should build a monument of enduring marble upon the spot."<sup>212</sup> Two years later the demand was repeated by William P. Buell: "Especially should the memory of Ann Bailey, the heroic woman who risked her life so often for these she loved, be remembered and her name, fame, and heroic deeds should find a resting place upon the bosom of affectionate memory."<sup>213</sup>

However, nothing was done toward establishing a memorial until 1901 when the Colonel Charles Lewis Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, was organized at Point Pleasant. Under the direction of the D.A.R.: "The ashes of Anne Bailey, the scout, who belonged to General Andrew Lewis's Army were also taken up from where they had long been buried, in an obscure spot near Clippers Mills, Ohio, and placed alongside the soldiers she had so faithfully served, many times at the risk of her own life."<sup>214</sup> Re-interment was made "just as the sun was sinking down behind the western hills, being the closing ceremonies of the day."<sup>215</sup>

Anne's remains were now properly interred in the ground dedicated to the memory of those brave soldiers, including Anne's first husband, who had lost their lives in the Battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774. But still her grave was unmarked. Writers, however, retained their interest in a monument for Anne. In 1907, Delia McCulloch wrote: "When the monument is erected, Ann Bailey, the Heroine of the Kanawha Valley will not be forgotten."<sup>216</sup>

It was not until 1925 that the desired monument was erected. At this time Anne's grave was "covered with a large boulder, placed there by Capt. C. C. Bowyer, President of the Merchants

<sup>212</sup> Mason, p. 3. "The spot"—Anne's first burial place.

<sup>213</sup> Buell, p. 207.

<sup>214</sup> *Annual Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 230.

<sup>215</sup> Delia A. McCulloch, "Scene of Point Pleasant," *American Historical Magazine*, II (September, 1907), p. 230.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

National Bank of that city [Point Pleasant] with a bronze table telling the passing stranger the simple fact of her heroic career.<sup>217</sup> The inscription reads:

Ann Hennis Trotter Bailey  
Revolutionary Scout  
Born in Liverpool, Eng., 1742  
Died 1825  
Col. Chas. Lewis Chapter, D.A.R.  
1925<sup>218</sup>

Testimonials to Anne's heroic life and deeds may be found along the route over which she rode, from Covington, Virginia, to Gallipolis, Ohio. A description of these follows:

"A mile above Barber [Virginia] may be seen, a little way off at the right, the long foot-hill elevation known as Mad Ann's Ridge, because it is associated with the exploits of Ann Bailey."<sup>219</sup> "This ridge lies at right angles to Warm Springs Mountain and on the north side of Falling Spring Branch."<sup>220</sup> On June 14, 1926 a tablet was placed on the highway between Hot Springs in Bath County and Covington, Allegheny County by the Rainbow Ridge Chapter of Allegheny County Daughters of the American Revolution.<sup>221</sup> The inscription on the tablet reads: "Near this spot stood the rude hut in which 'Mad' Anne Bailey spent the last years of her life as a scout and Indian fighter. She rendered valuable services to the first settlers of this section. Placed by the Rainbow Ridge Chapter, D.A.R."<sup>222</sup>

Another marker, placed by the D.A.R., is located on Kanawha Boulevard, Charleston, West Virginia. This marker, a large boulder with bronze plates, is located on the site of Fort Lee. There are two inscriptions, one facing the river, and one, on the opposite side of the stone, facing toward downtown Charleston. The inscription facing the river reads:

<sup>217</sup> F. F. Wall, "Pioneer Women of the Revolution," *The Gallia Times* (Gallipolis, Ohio), February 23, 1924. [Found in the Puffenbarger Scrapbooks. Page not given.]

<sup>218</sup> Lewis, *Historical Figures*, p. 28.

<sup>219</sup> Paul Pollock Humphreys, "Anne Ann Bailey?" *Huntington* (West Virginia) *Review Dispatch*, December 4, 1923, p. 3.

<sup>220</sup> *McClintock*, p. 224.

<sup>221</sup> Milton C. Russel, letter to the author, March 2, 1934.

<sup>222</sup> *McClintock*, p. 2.

## FORT CLENDENIN

1778

Saved by two historic rides  
for powder  
Ann Bailey

On horseback through wilderness  
to Lewisburg and return  
Fleming Cobbs

Poled down Kanawha River  
to Point Pleasant and return  
Kan. Valley Chapt. 1930<sup>223</sup>

Road markers mentioning Anne Bailey have been placed by the West Virginia State Road Commission in Charleston and at Point Pleasant. The Charleston marker is on the corner of Virginia and Court Streets, on U.S. highway Routes 21, 60, 119. The marker reads: "Founded by George Clendenin and named for his father. Established, 1794. Fort Lee, built 1788, stood on Kanawha River. 'Mad' Anne Bailey, the border heroine, and Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, noted scouts, once lived here."<sup>224</sup>

The marker at Point Pleasant is located on U.S. route 35 and West Virginia routes 2 and 5. The inscription: "Fort Blair was built here in 1774 and later Fort Randolph, center of Indian activities, 1777-1778. Here are graves of 'Mad Anne' Bailey, border scout, and Cornstalk, Shawnee chief, held as hostage and killed at Fort Randolph in 1777."<sup>225</sup>

Richard W. Workman, an official of the West Virginia Conservation Commission, Division of Education, informed the author that in Watoga State Park, Pocahontas County, there is a wooden tower, built on a point known as Workman's Ridge, from which place Anne Bailey is said to have kept watch over the Greenbrier Valley. On a park road, four miles from the lookout, is a wooden sign indicating the side road which leads to the tower. A few of the generally accepted facts concerning Anne's career are carved on this sign.

When Anne was making her rides between Charleston and Point Pleasant, she spent her nights in a cave and this cave

<sup>223</sup> The inscription copied from the marker by the author.  
<sup>224</sup> *West Virginia History and Science Magazine* (Charleston, West Virginia: State Road Commission of West Virginia in cooperation with the U.S. Forest Service Administration, 1937) p. 22.  
<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

became known as Anne Bailey's Cave. Dr. C. C. Forbes of Leon, West Virginia, told Mr. Virgil Lewis of this cave and added that the cave had been ruined by workmen quarrying rock.<sup>222</sup> This cave was "in the lower part" of the county and "in the upper end of the county there is a branch known as Anne's Branch."<sup>227</sup> In 1953, *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* carried an article locating a cave between Staunton and Lewisburg, accompanied by a picture with this caption: "Anne Bailey lived in this cave in Western Virginia while scouting between Staunton and Lewisburg."<sup>226</sup>

A unique testimonial to Anne Bailey's memory was the ferry boat, the "Ann Bailey," which plied the Ohio from Point Pleasant to Kenauga, on the Ohio side, from approximately the first decade of 1900 to 1928. The clipping quoted below was found in the scrapbooks of Mrs. Livia Poffenbarger who was editor of *The State Gazette* around 1900-1910. "On Monday morning Capt. Ulysses Grant Hayes let the contract to the Kanawha Dock Company for a new ferry boat to be much longer than that now plying between here and Kanauga, on the Ohio side. . . . The new ferry is to be completed before October 7th and will be called for the Heroine of the Kanawha Valley, Ann Bailey."<sup>229</sup> The Ann Bailey carried passengers and traffic across the Ohio until it was replaced in 1928 by "The Silver Bridge."<sup>230</sup>

Near Gallipolis there is a small church known as Bailey Chapel Church. "Bailey Chapel Church, built on the site given to its congregation, by the descendants of William Trotter, the son of Anne Bailey, was named in her honor, and is about 200 yards from her first burial place, along State Route 218, and is nine miles south of Gallipolis. It is affiliated with the Christian Order Denomination. . . ."<sup>231</sup>

Perhaps the most fitting of all the memorials to Anne Bailey is the Kanawha County Girl Scout camp. Camp Ann Bailey is built on a sixty-eight acre reservation in the mountains of

<sup>222</sup> Lewis, *Life and Times*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>227</sup> Lewis, p. 69.

<sup>228</sup> Lewis, p. 69.

<sup>229</sup> "Contract for New Boat," *The State Gazette* (Point Pleasant, West Virginia).

(The Poffenbarger Scrapbooks, n.d.).

<sup>230</sup> Eugene Cullion, "Construction of Silver Bridge Over Ohio Wednesday Will

Create New Link in Famous Bridge Series of Ohio and West Virginia.

*The Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette*, May 27, 1928, col. 1, p. 1.

<sup>231</sup> Eugene Cullion, letter to the author, February 14, 1964.



Greenbrier County. "Ann Bailey is the property of the Kanawha County Girl Scouts, built two years ago (1927) . . ." <sup>232</sup> It was named for the pioneer mountain heroine. <sup>233</sup>

Anne's story has been told, not only in poetry and prose, but in drama as well. On October 7, 1927 a pageant was presented at the Kanawha Exposition (Kanawha County Fair) at Dunbar, West Virginia. "The character of Anne Bailey will be one of the most important in the pageant. . . ." <sup>234</sup> The pageant consisted of ten episodes. Anne's ride comes at the conclusion of Episode IV: "Lying flat upon her horse, she rides successfully through them (the Indians) without being hurt, and reaches the inside of the fort in safety." <sup>235</sup>

And Anne has been on radio. On May 10, 1947, Point Pleasant celebrated the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge over the Kanawha at that place. <sup>236</sup> Climaxing the celebration was Station WLW's presentation of Anne's story on their *Builders of Destiny* series of programs. Peter Grant was the narrator. <sup>237</sup>

Anne Bailey continues to capture the imagination of those who read her story, that strange, ridiculous, heroic tale which is even yet being told and retold. The Ruth B. Scott version appeared late in 1953 in *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* and Julius de Gruyter's book, *The Kanawha Spectator*, was released in December, 1953. de Gruyter gave approximately five pages to Anne's story.

This present study may be considered as further evidence that Anne still lives in the memory of West Virginians. But of greater importance is the research which is now being done by Harry S. Irion of Washington, D. C. Mr. Irion is a great-great-grandson of Anne, who, since his retirement in 1951 from the U.S. Forest Service, has been working on a biography of his illustrious grandparent.

Interest is not confined to the locale where Anne trod nor is it limited to those who are numbered among her descend-

<sup>232</sup> Oliver Ward, "Camp Ann Bailey Girl Scout Paradise," *The Charleston* [West Virginia] *Gazette*, August 11, 1929, sec. 2, p. 2.

<sup>233</sup> *The Charleston* [West Virginia] *Gazette*, May 12, 1930.

<sup>234</sup> *The Kanawha Spectator* [Wheeling, West Virginia], September 25, 1927.

<sup>235</sup> *The Charleston* [West Virginia] *Daily Mail*, October 8, 1927.

<sup>236</sup> Nathan Swift, "Baltimore and Ohio Bridge Opening," *The Point Pleasant* [West Virginia] *Register*, May 11, 1947, p. 1.

<sup>237</sup> Nathan Swift, "The Tale," *The Point Pleasant* [West Virginia] *Register*, May 11, 1947, p. 1.

ants. "The following request was taken from a letter we received from Mr. Sigmund A. Lavine, Curator, 65 Stratton St., Dorchester, Mass.: 'I am the author of a juvenile biography of Gilbert and Sullivan which is to be issued this fall by Dodd, Mead and Company of New York City. At present I am under contract to furnish the same organization a teen-aged biography of Charles Proteus Steinmetz, the electrical wizard. This book is almost finished and shortly I will be free to begin another. I have chosen the heroine of the frontier, Anne Bailey, as my subject.'"<sup>238</sup>

Anne Trotter Bailey lives on in her descendants. Her only child, William Trotter, was the father of ten children, one of whom, a daughter, Mary, married James Irion, by whom she had twelve children. One of these, a son named John, was the father of five children, among whom were Brooks and Harry Irion.<sup>239</sup>

Brooks Irion inherited the physical stamina and vigor of his famous grandparent. "He was a long distance runner during his early life, having remarkable powers of endurance . . . The greatest distance he ever ran in a single race was 50 miles."<sup>240</sup>

Mr. Harry S. Irion was born in Gallipolis but has spent most of his adult life in Washington, D. C., where he served as an attorney in the U. S. Forest Service until his retirement in 1951.<sup>241</sup>

Gifford Irion, son of Harry S. Irion, is a trial examiner in the Federal Communication Commission. He is the author of several short articles and plays. His novel, *Windward of Reason*, was released by The Dial Press in May, 1954. Mr. Gifford Irion has two children, great-great-great-great-grandchildren of Anne Bailey.<sup>242</sup>

Another of Anne's descendants who is interested in literature is Louis A. Sheets, graduate student in English at Marshall College. Mr. Sheets is a great-great-great-great-grandson of Anne, descended through her granddaughter, Sarah Trotter.

<sup>238</sup> See Cheever, letter to the Department of Archives and History (Charleston, West Virginia), April 2, 1954.

<sup>239</sup> Harry S. Irion, "Genealogical Outline," written for the author, December 7, 1952.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

A rather impressive number of markers and memorials to Anne Bailey attest the value of her services to the pioneers along the Virginia border. That memorials may be found in three states is evidence of the extent of the territory covered by Anne in her scouting activities. While not exactly of a literary nature, these memorials have been featured in written matter concerning her career. They, therefore, become a natural and important part of this study.

The tracing of Anne's descendants affords another field of research concerning her. It seemed appropriate, however, to include herein some mention of those descendants who are interested in matters of a literary nature, and the one great-great-grandson, Brooks Irion, the distance runner, whose physical stamina and endurance rivaled even that of his famous ancestress, Anne Bailey.

## XII

### Summary and Conclusions

It was stated in Chapter II that the purpose of this study is to demonstrate how the Anne Bailey tradition grew. A large body of material, both published and unpublished, concerning her has been analyzed, and the printed matter covering several phases of her life has been reviewed.

In the early stages the growth of the tradition was largely oral. As has been demonstrated, little evidence of a documentary nature exists concerning Anne. The Lewis-Cook story, which, for reasons already shown, was accepted as a basic and reasonable account with which to compare other versions, is largely traditional in nature.

Every item of published matter concerning Anne has been printed since her death in 1825, almost all of it since 1861. Although every phase of Anne's life has been subject to examination, speculation, and exaggeration by writers, the main body of the material falls naturally into two major divisions, first, writings, largely descriptive in nature, concerning Anne and her activities as a scout; and second, narration and description, both in poetry and in prose, concerning the ride for powder which saved Fort Lee from destruction by the Indians.



In making the above divisions, it was not intended to discount the divergencies and exaggerations which occur in other phases of the story and which have added some of the most colorful tales to the tradition. For example, in no place is there evidence of greater invention than in the stories of how Anne came to America. And further, the difference of half a century in her birthdate has given rise to stories concerning her that are delightful, but highly improbable, if not ridiculous, as, for example, giving birth to an only son at sixty-seven years of age, falling in love at ninety, and teaching school at the ripe old age of one hundred eighteen years.

And yet, it is our considered opinion that the material does fall into the two divisions suggested above and that the source, immediate or remote, for most of it can be found in Richard Trotter's death. Richard's death was the cause of Anne's extreme bitterness and hatred for the Indians. Because of his death she turned to recruiting soldiers, scouting, carrying messages, in short, to that strange career which made her famous.

Only four printed items concerning Anne occurred prior to 1861 and two of these, the obituary and the Anne Royall sketch, were very short. The other two, "Mad Ann, the Huntress" and the passage in Emerson Bennett's *Wild Scenes on the Frontier*, were highly imaginative and romantic descriptions of Anne and her activities as a scout. From these two articles, has come the tradition of Anne as a boisterous, fighting, wrestling, swearing, hard-drinking, Indian-hating, blood-thirsty virago, intent only on killing Indians. This version of the story has persisted through the years, side by side with the softer nobler turn which was given to the story by Robb in 1861.

It seems a safe assumption that in the minds of Anne's contemporaries there must have been many questions concerning her. How does a woman scout dress, make camp, secure food? Above all, how does she escape the tomahawk of the redman? From question to conjecture, through oral repetition, the story is finally repeated to a writer possessed of imagination and skill, and a legend is born—or perhaps, preserved.



gave a different turn to the Anne Bailey tradition. Not only did the story of the ride open a new and fertile field for imaginative writers, it also became necessary to fabricate for Anne a new personality—a personality suited to the role of heroine. And Anne became a gentler and nobler person. True, the desire for revenge persisted, but it was balanced by a passion for serving the settlers. Anne was described as adept at nursing and so devoted was she to the Kanawha Valley pioneers that she carried heavy packs of supplies to them from as far east as Staunton, Virginia.

The source of Robb's material was a story, told by a mountaineer. Remembering that the Indians were threatening Fort Lee and recalling also William Clendenin's statement that Anne brought powder from Lewisburg, it is only one easy step for the imagination to bridge the gulf between fact and fancy and have Anne bring the powder when the fort was under siege and in desperate need. Association with the Betty Zane story may well have assisted in building up the tradition of the siege and ride.

Many literary influences can be detected in the telling and retelling of the tale. The decadent Romantic tendency to concentrate upon the occult, the strange, and the bizarre, has perhaps exerted the strongest single influence upon the story.

A minor classical strain, weak, but still evident, can be found in the names of the persons with whom Anne, in Chapter I, is compared. In this chapter also may be noted the early efforts of American writers to throw off the yoke of European domination of American literature, and Anne is compared, not to some queen of classical antiquity, but to Daniel Boone, and Davy Crockett of the Alamo.

Realism has played a part in the development of the tradition. Dr. Roy Bird Cook's work on the story is realistic to the point of iconoclasm. Some minor efforts at psychoanalysis has been found, some of fairly early date, and some more recent.

Women writers, while in a minority as to number, have exerted strong influence in the building of the tradition of Anne as a noble, religious woman whose strange career was motivated not so much by revenge as by a desire to be of service to the settlers.

In recent years, generally speaking, the tendency has been to consider Anne as a valuable border scout, using the term "alleged" when referring to the siege and ride. There are notable examples, however, of the tendency to glorify Anne, as the Ruth B. Scott story in *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 1953.

Also worthy of note is the growth of newspaper interest in the story in the last three decades. This reflects the continuing popular interest in, as well as the broadening of the scope of interest in materials covered by newspapers.

Literary interest in Anne is still strong. Published materials of a recent date may be cited as evidence of this fact. The work of Harry S. Irion on the story, and the plans of Sigmund A. Lavine to write a biography of Anne for juveniles may be offered as further proof that Anne Bailey still captures the minds and imagination of those who hear and read her story.

## APPENDIX

ANNE BAILEY'S RIDE  
A LEGEND OF THE KANAWHA

By Charles Robb, U. S. A.

(Copied from *Life and Times of Anne Bailey, the Pioneer Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley* by Virgil A. Lewis. Charleston, West Virginia: The Butler Printing Company, 1891.)

The Army lay at Gauley Bridge,  
At Mountain Cove and Sewell Ridge;  
Our tents were pitched on hill and dell  
From Charleston Height to Cross Lane fell;  
Our camp-fires blazed on every route,  
From Red House point to Camp Lookout;  
On every rock our sentries stood,  
Our scouts held post in every wood,  
And every path was stained with blood  
From Scarey creek to Gauley flood.

'Twas on a bleak autumnal day,  
When not a single sunbeam's ray  
Could struggle through the dripping skies  
To cheer our melancholy eyes—  
Whilst heavy clouds, like funeral palls,  
Hung o'er Kanawha's foaming falls,  
And shrouded all the mountain green  
With dark, foreboding, misty screen.

All through the weary livelong day  
Our troops had marched the mountain way;  
And in the gloomy eventide  
Had pitched their tents by the river's side;  
And as the darkness settled o'er  
The hill and vale and river shore,  
We gathered round the camp-fire bright,  
That threw its glare on the misty night;

And each some tale or legend told  
To while away the rain and cold.  
Thus, one a tale of horror told  
That made the very blood run cold;  
One spoke of suffering and of wrong;  
Another sang a mountain song;  
One spoke of home, and happy years,  
Till down his swarthy cheek the tears  
Slow dripping, glistened in the light  
That glared upon the misty night;  
While others sat in silence deep,  
Too sad for mirth, yet mourned to weep.

Then spake a hardy mountaineer—  
(His beard was long, his eye was clear;  
And clear his voice, of metal tone,  
Just such as all would wish to own)—

"I've heard a legend old," he said,  
"Of one who used these paths to tread  
Long years ago, when fearful strife  
Sad havoc made of human life;  
A deed of daring bravely done,  
A feat of honor nobly won;  
And what in story's most uncommon,  
An army saved by gentle woman.

" 'Twas in that dark and bloody time (1791)  
When savage craft and tory crime  
From Northern lake to Southern flood,  
Had drenched the western world with blood.  
And in this wild, romantic glen  
Encamped a host of savage men,  
Whose mad'ning war-whoop, loud and high,  
Was answered by the panther's cry.

"The pale-faced settlers all had fled,  
Or murdered were in lonely bed;  
Whilst hut and cabin, blazing high,  
With crimson decked the midnight sky.

"I said the settlers all had fled—  
Their pathway down the valley led  
To where the Elk's bright crystal waves  
On dark Kanawha's bosom laves,  
There safety sought, and respite brief,  
And in Fort Charleston found relief;  
Awhile they bravely met their woes,  
And kept at bay their savage foes.

"Thus days and weeks the warfare waged,  
In fury still the conflict raged;  
Still fierce and bitter grew the strife  
Where every foeman fought for life.  
Thus day by day the siege went on,  
Till three long, weary weeks were gone;  
And then the mournful word was passed  
That every day might be their last;  
The word was whispered soft and slow,  
The magazine was getting low.  
They loaded their rifles one by one,  
And then—the powder all was gone!  
They stood like men in calm despair,  
No friendly aid could reach them there;



Their doom was sealed, the scalping knife  
And burning stake must end the strife.  
One forlorn hope alone remained,  
That distant aid might yet be gained  
If trusty messenger should go  
Through forest wild, and savage foe,  
And safely there should bear report,  
And succor bring from distant Fort.

But who should go—the venture dare?  
The woodsmen quailed in mute despair,  
In vain the call to volunteer;  
The bravest blenched with silent fear.  
Each gloomy brow and labored breath,  
Proclaimed the venture worse than death.  
Not long the fatal fact was kept;  
But through the Fort the secret crept  
Until it reached the ladies' hall,  
There like a thunderbolt to fall.  
Each in terror stood amazed,  
And silent on the other gazed;  
No word escaped—there fell no tear—  
But all was hushed in mortal fear;  
All hope of life at once had fled,  
And filled each soul with nameless dread.  
*But one* (Anne Bailey) who stood amid the rest,  
The bravest, fairest, and the best  
Of all that graced the cabin hall,  
First broke the spell of terror's thrall.  
Her step was firm, her features fine,  
Of Mortal mould the most divine;  
But why describe her graces fair,  
Her form her mien, her stately air?  
Nay, hold! my pen, I will not dare!  
'Twas Heaven's image mirrored there.  
She spoke no word, of fear, or boast,  
But smiling, passed the sentry post;  
And half in hope, and half in fear,  
She whispered in her husband's ear,  
The sacrifice her soul would make  
Her friends to save from brand and stake.  
A noble charger standing nigh,  
Of spirit fine, and metal high,  
Was saddled well, and girted strong,  
With cord, and loop, and leathern thong.  
For her was led in haste from stall,  
Upon whose life depended all.  
Her friends she gave a parting brief,  
No time was there for briefer grief;

Her husband's hand a moment wrung,  
Then lightly to the saddle sprung;  
And followed by the prayers and tears,  
The kindling hopes, and boding fears  
Of those who seemed the sport of fate,  
She dashed beyond the op'ning gate;  
Like birdling free, on pinion light,  
Commenced her long and weary flight.

"The foemen saw the op'ning gate,  
And thought with victory elate  
To rush within the portal rude,  
And in his dark and savage mood  
To end the sanguinary strife  
With tomahawk and scalping-knife.  
But lo! a lady! fair and bright,  
And seated on a charger light,  
Bold—and free—as one immortal—  
Bounded o'er the op'ning portal.  
Each savage paused in mute surprise,  
And gazed with wonder-staring eyes;  
'A squaw! a squaw!', the chieftain cries,  
(*'A squaw! a squaw!'* the host replies;)  
Then order gave to 'cross the lawn  
With lightning speed and catch the fawn.'  
Her pathway up the valley led,  
Like frightened deer the charger fled,  
And urged along by whip and rein,  
The quick pursuit was all in vain,  
A hundred bended bows were sprung,  
A thousand savage echoes rung—  
But far too short the arrows fell  
All harmless in the mountain dell;  
'To horse! to horse!' the chieftain cried,  
They mount in haste and madly ride.  
Along the rough, uneven way,  
The pathway of the lady lay;  
Whilst long and loud the savage yell  
Re-echoed through the mountain fell.

She heeded not the danger rife,  
But rode as one who rides for life;  
Still onward in her course she bore  
Along the dark Kanawha's shore,  
Through tangled wood and rocky way,  
Nor paused to rest at close of day.  
Like skimming cloud before the wind  
Soon left the saddle far behind.  
From banded tree above the road  
The flying charger wildly trode,

Amid the evening's gath'ring gloom,  
The panther's shriek, the voice of doom  
In terror fell upon the ear,  
And quickened every pulse with fear.  
But e'en the subtle panther's bound,  
To reach his aim too slow was found;  
And headlong falling on the rock,  
Lay crushed and mangled in the shock.  
The prowling wolf then scents his prey,  
And rushing on with angry bay,  
With savage growl and quickening bound  
He clears the rough and rugged ground;  
And closing fast the lessening space  
That all too soon must end the race,  
With sharpened teeth that glittered white  
As stars amid the gloomy night—  
With foaming jaws had almost grasped  
The lovely hand that firmly clasped,  
And well had used the whip and rein,  
But further effort now were vain;  
Another bound—a moment more—  
And then the struggle all were o'er.

'Twas in a steep and rocky gorge  
Along the river's winding verge,  
Just where the foaming torrent falls  
Far down through adamantine halls.  
And then comes circling round and round,  
As loath to leave the enchanted ground.  
Just there a band of wand'ring braves  
Had pitched their tents beside the waves.  
The sun long since had sunk to rest,  
And long the light had faded west—  
When all were startled by the sound  
Of howling wolf and courser's bound,  
That onward came, with fearful clang,  
Whose echoes round the mountain rang;  
The frightened wolf in wild surprise  
A moment paused—with glaring eyes  
In terror gazed upon the flame,  
Then backward fled the way he came.  
Each wondering savage saw with fear  
The charger come like frightened deer;  
With wary gait, and heavy tramp,  
The foaming steed dashed through the camp  
And onward up the valley bear  
His quondam rider, brave and fair.  
Still on, and on, through pathless wood—  
They swim the Ganley's swollen flood,

And climb Mount Tompkins' lofty brow,  
More wild and rugged far than now,  
Still onward held their weary flight  
Beyond the Hawk's Nest's Giddy Height;  
And often chased through lonely glen  
By savage beast or savage men—  
Thus like some weary, hunted dove  
The woman sped through 'Mountain Cove,'  
The torrent crossed without a bridge,  
And scaled the heights of Sewell Ridge,  
And still the wild, beleaguered road  
With heavy tramp the charger trode,  
Nor paused amid his weary flight  
Throughout the long and dreary night.  
And bravely rode the woman there,  
Where few would venture, few would dare  
Amid the cheering light of day  
To tread the wild beleaguered way;  
And as the morning sunbeams fall  
O'er hill and dale, and sylvan hall,  
Far in the distance, dim and blue,  
The friendly Fort (Lewisburg) arose to view,  
Whose portal soon the maiden gains  
With slackened speed and loosened reins  
And voice whose trembling accents tell,  
Of journey ridden long and well.

"The succor thus so nobly sought,  
To Charleston Fort was timely brought;  
Whilst Justice, on the scroll of fame,  
In letters bold, engraved her name."

*Gealey Bridge, Va., Nov. 7, 1861.*